

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 0607

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SUMMARY: THE RENEWED EMPHASIS BY THE PRESIDENT ON ARMS CONTROL HAS STIMULATED ALLIED INTEREST IN POSSIBLE US INITIATIVES. SOME ALLIES HAVE STATED THAT NATO SHOULD APPEAR PUBLICLY TO BE MORE ACTIVE IN THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD. THUS, THE DANISH SUGGESTIONS (REFS C AND D), ENDORSED BY SOME ALLIES AT THE NAC MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE (REF B), POINT TOWARD SUSTAINED, HIGHER-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS ON ARMS CONTROL AT NATO; POSSIBLE FRESH NATO PROPOSALS IN THIS FIELD; AND THE EXPECTATION OF SUBSTANTIAL US CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS ON ARMS CONTROL. AS WASHINGTON PROCEEDS WITH ITS STUDIES OF POSSIBLE INITIATIVES, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL, AS WELL, TO CONSIDER (A) HOW NATO CONSULTATIONS COULD ASSIST IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF US OBJECTIVES, AND (B) THE RELEVANCE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIED EFFORTS IN THIS AREA TO PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR NATO IN PARTICULAR, AND TO THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF ARMS CONTROL POSTURES WITHIN WESTERN EUROPE AND IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN GENERAL. BELOW, WE SUGGEST SOME ANALYSES OF THESE ISSUES AND SKETCH OUT THE RANGE OF ACTIVITIES THAT COULD BE UNDERTAKEN AT NATO -- SHOULD WASHINGTON DECIDE THAT INCREASED ARMS CONTROL ACTIVITY HERE WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST. WHILE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES ON ARMS CONTROL MATTERS WILL BE IMPORTANT IN ASSURING CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR US POLICIES, OTHER OPTIONS FOR SIGNIFICANT INCREASED NATO ACTIVITY IN THE ARMS CONTROL

FIELD WILL REQUIRE CAREFUL ASSESSMENT. OUR CENTRAL PURPOSE AT NATO, WE RECOGNIZE, IS TO ENHANCE ALLIED SECURITY IN THE BROADEST SENSE. WE WOULD NOT WISH ARMS CONTROL CONSULTATIONS TO DETRACT -- AS INDEED THEY NEED NOT -- FROM THIS MISSION'S EFFORTS ON BASIC SECURITY OBJECTIVES.
END SUMMARY.

1. THE DANISH PROPOSALS. WE BELIEVE THE FOLLOWING CONCERNS PROMPTED THE DANISH SUGGESTIONS, AND THEIR ENDORSEMENT BY SEVERAL ALLIES, FOR INCREASED CONSULTATIONS ON ARMS CONTROL ISSUES AT NATO WITH A VIEW TO DEVELOPING PROPOSALS THAT WOULD HAVE A POSITIVE PUBLIC IMPACT:

(A) THE DESIRE OF SOME ALLIED GOVERNMENTS TO APPEAR VIGOROUS IN SEEKING LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS ON ARMAMENTS -- A DESIRE EVIDENCED PARTICULARLY BY THE DANES, NORWEGIANS, AND DUTCH, BUT SHARED TO SOME DEGREE BY THE UK, FRG, AND ITALY.

(B) A DESIRE TO GIVE NATO A MORE POSITIVE PUBLIC IMAGE -- A SUGGESTION PROMPTED BY THE CONCERN THAT A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC TENDS TO ASSOCIATE NATO WITH "MILITARISTIC" ACTIVITIES. ON THE LEFT OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN POLITICAL SPECTRUM, SOVIET EFFORTS TO DRIVE THIS NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION HOME HAVE HAD SOME SUCCESS OVER THE YEARS.

(C) A BELIEF THAT TOO OFTEN THE WEST HAS HAD TO REACT DEFENSIVELY TO SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS, PAR-
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TICULARLY AT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLIES, AND THAT, THROUGH ADDITIONAL EFFORT, THE WEST, AND NATO, MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO BETTER IN THIS AREA.

2. US INITIATIVES AND THE ALLIES. THE EMPHASIS THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS ACCORDING TO ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES HAS ALREADY BEEN WIDELY WELCOMED AT NATO HEADQUARTERS. A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST TO US IN THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS, AS INDEED THE DANES DID IN THEIR PAPER (REF C). THE BRITISH, FOR EXAMPLE, TOLD US THAT THEY HAVE REPORTED TO LONDON THAT THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS AND THE DANISH PROPOSALS POINT TOWARD GREATER EMPHASIS AT NATO ON ARMS CONTROL ISSUES; AND THE BRITISH ADDED THAT THEY WILL BE LOOKING TO US TO TAKE THE LEAD. THE ALLIES UNDERSTAND, TOO,

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THAT THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS HAVE GONE A LONG WAY
TO REGAIN THE WEST'S INITIATIVE IN THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD.

3. THE ALLIES RECOGNIZE THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION
IS ONLY BEGINNING ITS STUDIES OF THESE ISSUES AND THAT
IT WILL TAKE TIME BEFORE THE NATO ALLIES CAN BE INFORMED
ABOUT POSSIBLE US INITIATIVES. AT THE SAME TIME, WHILE
PRESS SPECULATION ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS MAY
PROMPT MIXED FEELINGS AMONG SOME ALLIED OFFICIALS, WE
BELIEVE GENERAL ALLIED SUPPORT CAN BE MUSTERED FOR NEW
AND VIGOROUS DISARMEAMENT EFFORTS IF THEY ARE SEEN AS
SERVING THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE AND AS
RESPONSIVE TO THE DESIRE OF ALLIED GOVERNMENTS TO GAIN
THE INITIATIVE IN THIS AREA, WITHOUT SACRIFICING SECUR-
ITY. MOREOVER, ALLIED SUPPORT FOR FRESH US INITIATIVES
CAN BE ENHANCED BY CONSULTING THE ALLIES AT APPROPRIATE
STAGES AND BY MAKING THEM FEEL THEY ARE BEING ASSO-
CIATED WITH THEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, ANY EVIDENCE OF
OVERRIDING US-SOVIET BILATERALISM COULD SOUR THE PROSPECTS
FOR A POSITIVE ALLIED RESPONSE TO US INITIATIVES -- AS
THE FRG PERMREP MADE CLEAR IN THE NAC'S MEETING WITH
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE. POLITICALLY, WE WOULD UNDERLINE
THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO SOME ALLIED GOVERNMENTS THAT
POSITIVE PUBLIC FEEDBACK FROM THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS
TO ACHIEVE SERIOUS PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL SHOULD
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ACCRUE ALSO THE ALLIES AND NOT ONLY TO WASHINGTON.

4. OPTIONS FOR ADDITIONAL NATO ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS.
AS WE INDICATED IN REF E, A RANGE OF ACTIVITIES COULD
BE UNDERTAKEN AT NATO IN RESPONSE TO THE DANISH PROPOSALS,
WHICH WERE PUT FORWARD AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF (A) REGULAR
NAC-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS ON SALT AND MBFR AND (B) LITTLE
SUSTAINED NATO ATTENTION IN RECENT YEARS TO OTHER ARMS
CONTROL ISSUES, ASIDE FROM THOSE ADDRESSED IN THE SEMI-
ANNUAL EXPERTS MEETINGS. THIS RANGE COULD INCLUDE:
(A) AFTER FURTHER PERMREPS' DISCUSSION, REMANDING
THE DANISH PROPOSALS TO A STANDING BODY, SUCH AS THE
SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE. THIS PROCEDURAL STEP WOULD
HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF ESTABLISHING ARMS CONTROL AND
DISARMAMENT AS A REGULAR SPC AGENDA ITEM WITHOUT EMBAR-
RASSING THE FRENCH OR PREJUDICING THE OUTCOME OF COUNCIL
CONSIDERATION OF THIS SUBJECT. IT WOULD PROVIDE AN

OPPORTUNITY FOR ALLIES TO FURTHER DISCUSS THE DANISH IDEAS, TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT OTHER ARMS CONTROL ISSUES AS A MATTER OF REGULAR BUSINESS AND, GRADUALLY, TO CHART FOLLOW-UP WORK.

(B) DISCUSSION OF GENERAL ARMS CONTROL ISSUES FROM TIME TO TIME BY THE NAC. NATO DISARMAMENT EXPERTS' REPORTS MIGHT BE PLACED ON THE COUNCIL'S AGENDA (THEY HAVE NOT BEEN IN THE PAST) TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR SEMI-ANNUAL DISCUSSION. THE COUNCIL MIGHT ALSO, AT AN APPROPRIATE STAGE, UNDERTAKE A BROADER REVIEW OF DISARMAMENT MATTERS WITH OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS, AS WE SUGGESTED IN REF D. FINALLY, WE NOTE THE POSSIBILITY OF REVIVING THE PRACTICE, WHICH OBTAINED THROUGH MOST OF THE SIXTIES AND BEYOND, OF HAVING ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE CCD AT GENEVA COME OCCASIONALLY TO NATO TO BRIEF THE NAC AND DISCUSS CURRENT MULTINATIONAL ARMS CONTROL ISSUES.

5. IN OUTLINING THESE POSSIBILITIES,
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WE HAVE IN MIND THAT NATO PROVIDES ONLY ONE POSSIBLE FORUM FOR ARMS CONTROL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES -- AND THAT IT MAY NOT BE THE BEST ONE FOR SOME SUBJECTS. FOR EXAMPLE, AS EMBASSY PARIS SUGGESTED (REF F), THE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ISSUE OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS MIGHT BE EXPLORED THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS AS NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICY HAS BEEN PURSUED THROUGH THE CLUB OF LONDON. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, FEW TOPICS THAT CANNOT ALSO BE DISCUSSED IN NATO, ESPECIALLY WHEN WE WANT TO INFORM ALL OUR ALLIES OF DEVELOPMENTS RELEVANT TO ALLIED SECURITY. WE RECOGNIZE, AS WELL, THAT ADDITIONAL EFFORTS SHOULD NOT DETRACT FROM ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON MBFR AND SALT.

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6. US CONTRIBUTIONS. WHILE WASHINGTON WILL WISH TO

DECIDE WHICH ARMS CONTROL ISSUES SHOULD BE REVIEWED
IN NATO, WE BELIEVE THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF CONTRIBUTIONS
BY THE US WOULD BE WELCOMED:

(A) ON POSSIBLE INITIATIVES AND NEW DIRECTIONS
IN US POLICY THE ALLIES COULD BE BRIEFED AT THE SEMI-ANNUAL
DISARMAMENT EXPERTS' MEETINGS, OF WHICH THE NEXT IS
SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 21-22. BUT WE SHOULD ALSO BE
ALERT, AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST, TO THE NEED TO PRO-
VIDE BRIEFING PAPERS AND TIMELY ANNOUNCEMENTS ON US
PLANS AND US REACTIONS TO SOVIET MOVES.

(B) WHEN WE TAKE STEPS AT THE CCD REGARDING
JOINT TIVES WITH THE SOVIETS OR EXPERTS' GROUPS WE COULD
UOL THESE MOVES AS OPPORTUNITIES TO AGAIN DEMONSTRATD
OUR COMMITMENT TO CONSULTATIONS -- AND MAKE EVERY EFFORT
TO AVOID THE RUSH THAT INEVITABLY TAKES PLACE WHEN
ISSUES ARE PRESSED TO RAPID DECISION IN WASHINGTON TO
MEET LAST-MINUTE NEGOTIATING DEADLINES THAT LEAVE LITTLE
TIME TO INFORM ALLIES AT NATO.

(C) ON INTERNAL US GOVERNMENT ACTIONS, SUCH AS
POSSIBLE SUBMISSION OF THE TTBT AND THE PNE TREATY TO
THE CONGRESS, A BRIEF NOTICE TO THE COUNCIL, WHICH WE
COULD CIRCULATE BY LETTER OF MENTION AT PERMREPS LUNCHESES
OR IN THE NAC, WOULD BE USEFUL.

(D) SOME ANALYTICAL PAPERS ON ARMS COUNTROL ISSUES
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PREPARED WITHIN THE US GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE SUITABLE FOR
CIRCULATION TO THE ALLIES. AS ONE EXAMPLE, WE NOTE THE
EXELLENT INR PAPER ON THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF
SOVIET NON-USE PROPOSALS (NO 162 OF OCTOBER 18, 1975)
WHICH, WE ARE SURE, TH DANES WOULD FIND RESPONSIVE TO
THEIR REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL MATERIALS FROM THE US.

7. POSSIBLE RESULTS OF NATO ACTIVITIES. THE FRENCH,
WE ASSUME, WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT JOINT NATO
ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS, PARTICULARLY IF THEY CONSTITUTED
A SWEEPING PROGRAM. DISCUSSION OF PROPOSALS BY INDIVI-
DUAL ALLIES WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO THWART, HOWEVER. MORE-
OVER, WE MIGHT ACHIEVE THE FOLLOWING POSSIBLE RESULTS
BEYOND ONLY INTERNAL NATO DISCUSSIONS:

(A) INCREASED EMPHASIS IN MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUESES
ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES. A NUMBER OF ALLIES EXPRESSED
SATISFACTION THAT THE DECEMBER 1976 COMMUNIQUE, FOR
THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS, CONTAINED A PASSAGE ON ALLIED
DISARMAMENT OBJECTIVES. A SIMILAR PASSAGE, PERHAPS
EXPANDED, MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN THE LONDON COMMUNIQUE
IN MAY, AND PERHAPS EVEN BECOME A REGULAR FEATURE OF
NATO COMMUNIQUESES.

(B) A NATO STATEMENT ON GENERAL ARMS CONTROL
OBJECTIVES MIGHT BE ISSUED SEPARATELY FROM THE COMMUN-
IQUE. EVENIF SUCH A STATEMENT WERE COUCHED IN GENERAL
TERMS, IT MIGHT GO FAR TO MEET THE OBJECTIVES SET FORTH

IN THE DANISH PAPER.

(C) A LIST OF ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS THAT THE ALLIES WISHED TO EXPLORE MIGHT ALSO BE PUT FORWARD IF AN ACCEPTABLE MODE FOR DOING SO COULD BE FOUND. MAKING PUBLIC SUCH A LIST ON AN ALLIED BASIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT IN THE FACT OF FRENCH RESISTANCE, HOWEVER, AS WE DESCRIBE BELOW.

8. THE FRENCH PROBLEM. WE AGREE FULLY WITH EMBASSY PARIS THAT THE FRENCH PROBABLY WILL RESIST STRONGLY
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EFFORTS TO EXPAND ARMS COUNTR0L DISCUSSION IN NATO, PARTICULARLY ON NON-GRANSFER OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS (REF G). IF THEY PROVE INTRANSIGENT, IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE BECUASE OF NATO'S CONSENSUS RULE, FOR THE US, OR OTHER ALLIES, TO RPOCEED WITH EXPANDED DISCUSSIONS IN NATO. HOWEVER, IF THE US WISHES TO PROCEED WITHIN THE NATO FRAMEWORK WITH SUCH DISCUSSIONS, WE SUGGEST THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO A VERY HIGH-LEVEL APPROACH TO THE FRENCH. THE DEMARCHE COULD (A)

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AFFIRM THE US INTEREST IN UTILIZING NATO AS A FORUM FOR CONSULTATIONS ON SOME ARMS CONTROL ISSUES, (B) RECALL THAT ARMS CONTROL DISCUSSIONS LONG HAVE BEEN A FIXTURE ON NATO'S AGENDA, AND (C) URGE A NON-OBSTRUCTIVE APPROACH BY FRANCE. ONLY SUCH AN APPROACH, IN OUR VIEW, WILL OVERCOME THE EFLEX FRENCH OBJECTIONS TO EXPANDING CONSULTATIONS IN NATO BEYOND MATTERS OF A STRICTLY EAST-WEST CHARACTER. WE AR E NOT IN A POSITION TO JUDGE WHETHER A STRAIGHT-FROM-THE-SHOULDER APPROACH TO THE FRENCH ON THIS SUBJECT WOULD IMPACT ADVERSELY ON OTHER ISSUES IN US-FRENCH RELATIONS. HOWEVER, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT,UNLESS NUDGED WITH SOME VIGOR, FRANCE WILLNOT BEGIN TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS IN NATO OF THE KIND THAT WILL

BE NEEDED IF ALLIANCE FORA ARE TO BE ABLE TO SUPPORT
THE ADMINISTRATION'S PURPOSES.

9. THE POLITICS OF DISARMAMENT. THE IMPACT OF ARMS
CONTROL PROPOSALS ON THE POLITICAL SCENE IN WESTERN
EUROPE, AND THE INTERPLAY OF SOVIET "PEACE" EFFORTS AND
ALLIED SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL OBJECTIVES IS, IN OUR
VIEW, A FIELD THAT DESERVES CAREFUL ANALYSIS BY THE US.
WHILE THE RESULTS MAY NOT BE USEFUL DIRECTLY IN NATO,
THESE ANALYSES COULD HELP GUIDE US POLICIES. THE ARMS
CONTROL GAME, AS THE SOVIETS HAVE LONG RECOGNIZED, IS
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POLITICAL IN THE BROADEST SENSE, AND GOES TO THE HEART
OF WHO SUPPORTS THE EAST AND WHO SUPPORTS THE WEST ON
CURUCIAL ISSUES AFFECTING THE BALNACE OF POWER IN EUROPE.
WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT FOR US AT NATO TO ASSESS THE FULL
IMPACT OF THE SOVIET "PEACE" PROGRAM, THE FOLLOWING
QUESTIONS SUGGEST TO US LINES FOR FURTHER US ANALYSIS:

(A) HOW SUCCESSFUL HAVE THE SOVIETS BEEN IN UNDER-
MINING THE WESTERN IMAGE ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES AND IN
MAINTAINING PRESSURE AND TENSION ON ALLIED POSITIONS?
SHOULD THE ALLIES COUNTER MORE VIGOROUSLY SOVIET PRO-
PAGANDA INITIATIVES SUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, SOVIET PRO-
FESSIONS OF WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT BILATERALLY -- BUT
ONLY AFTER SOVIET PROPOSALS ARE LAUNCHED, AND THEN WITH
THE AIM NOT OF DISCUSSING SUBSTANCE BUT OF DIVIDING THE
ALLIES?

(B) WHAT IS THE RELEVANCE TO NATO OF POSITIONS
ADOPTED BY WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES ON ISSUES CENTRAL
TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE? AT THE SPRING 1976 ECPC IN BERLIN,
WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, DESPITE PROTESTATIONS
OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, SUBSCRIBED TO STANDARD SOVIET
ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS, INCLUDING SOME THAT
WOULD CRIPPLE NATO'S DEFENSE POSTURE. (IN REACTING TO
THE NOVEMBER WARSAW PACT BUCHAREST DECLARATION, WE UNDER-
STAND THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS ENDORSED SOVIET PROPOSALS
ON NON-FIRST-USE AND NON-ENLARGEMENT OF NATO AND THE WP,
WHILE THE ITALIANS REMAINED SILENT.) WHAT ARE THE IMPLI-
CATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THESE POSITIONS IF COMMUNIST
PARTIES CAME TO SHARE POWER? IS IT POSSIBLE OR
DESIRABLE, AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED, TO CONFRONT THEM
PUBLICLY ON CONCRETE ISSUES, SUCH AS WHETHER THEY SUPPORT
WESTERN NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES IN MBFR?

9. WE ARE NOT SUGGESTING THAT THE POLITICS OF EUROPEAN ARMS
CONTROL POSTURES SHOULD DRIVE THE
FORMULATION OF US POSITIONS OR THAT INCREASED US SENSI-
TIVITY TO SUCH ISSUES SHOULD PROMOTE EAST-WEST POLEMICS
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OR DEFLECT THE CONTINUED PURSUIT OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.
WE DO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT FURTHER US ANALYSIS COULD
HELP IDENTIFY THE RELEVANCE OF SOVIET AND US ARMS CON-
TROL POSTURES TO POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR ALLIANCE OBJEC-
TIVES AND POSSIBLY SUGGEST DIFFERENT TACTICS FOR THE
UNITED STATES --AND ULTIMATELY THE ALLIES -- IN DEALING
WITH SOVIET "PEACE" INITIATIVES IN THE ARMS CONTROL
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